

# **MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS**

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## **INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION AND NEGOTIATING POSITIONS OF CYPRUS' REGIONAL CONFLICT AFTER THE 1974 TURKISH INVASION: OBSTACLES AND PROSPECTS TO A SETTLEMENT**

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Cyprus represents one of the most enduring and problematic regional conflicts. Since Cyprus' independence in 1960, the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots have been in conflict, culminating in the arrival of the UN Peacekeeping Force (UNFICYP) in 1964 and the 1974 Turkish invasion. The regional concerns of Greece and Turkey and their proclivity to protect and advance the interests of their related ethnic communities on the island have played serious roles in the maintenance of the conflict. The thesis illustrates the weakness of the international mediation effort and the obstacles to a settlement. Although third parties, such as the UN, the USA and the EU, are pressing the issue, a solution ultimately depends on the four key actors, the two Cypriot communities and Greece and Turkey, coming to a mutually acceptable agreement. More recently, the EU has become involved in the issue because of the intended accession negotiations for Cyprus, and its special relations with Greece – an EU member – and Turkey, as an EU-membership candidate following the 1999 EU summit in Helsinki. Both the EU and USA calculate that a political federal solution of Cyprus' problem will benefit both Cypriot communities, improve Greek-Turkish relations, and formalize Turkey's European status.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Foreign Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** Cyprus, Security, International Mediation, Conflict Resolution, Ethnic Conflict, UN, EU, USA, Greece, Turkey, Foreign Policy

## **THE WAR IN BOSNIA, 1992-1995: ANALYZING MILITARY ASYMMETRIES AND FAILURES**

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This thesis analyzes the three key failures by the leading external powers in their efforts in 1992-1995 to manage the crisis in Bosnia and impose a settlement. Except for Russia, these leading powers were the so-called NATO Quad: Britain, France, Germany, and the United States. When these powers initially intervened, they failed to comprehend the origins and dynamics of the Yugoslav crisis. These powers successively failed to prevent the outbreak of the fighting, then to properly contain it, and finally to achieve a stable and enduring settlement when the chance presented itself in 1995.

The thesis concludes that the failures stemmed from incorrect assessments, a lack of political will, and organizational shortcomings. Because of these failures, the Bosnian conflict remains unsettled, and the current stalemate hinges on continuing political-military commitments by the external powers.

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## NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

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**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (The 1992-1995 War in Bosnia)

**KEYWORDS:** Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnians, Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats, Bosnian Muslims, IFOR, SFOR

### PEACE ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA

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Upon unification, a new Korea will review its various security policies. One of the critical issues to be reviewed will be the future of U.S. forces in Korea. This thesis identifies, evaluates, and summarizes the courses of action (COA) the United States and Korea might pursue after unification. A recommendation of reducing ground forces, maintaining air assets and increasing a naval presence off the peninsula appears to solve both U.S. and Korean post-unification security/stability concerns.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Political Science)

**KEYWORDS:** Korea, Unification

### THE AEGEAN DISPUTE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE U.S. POLICY

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The Greek-Turkish dispute over the Aegean encompasses several distinct, yet interrelated, factors: 1. Sovereign rights over the Aegean continental shelf; 2. Territorial waters limits within the Aegean claimed by each side; 3. Jurisdiction over airspace zones; 4. Sovereignty over certain or unspecified (*gray areas*) Aegean islands.

The Greek-Turkish dispute threatens peace and stability in the region. Moreover, the tension has disrupted the cohesion of NATO and jeopardizes the ability of the Western alliance to influence events in the Middle East and the Balkans. This thesis maintains that U.S. policy after World War II strongly influenced domestic politics in Greece and Turkey and, consequently, contributed indirectly to the dispute itself. American diplomacy's relative ineffectiveness on this issue and future implications must therefore be considered.

Generally, United States and NATO objectives, initiated by the Cold War priorities, transformed during time the regional policies of Greece and Turkey. Furthermore, these priorities created an imbalance in Aegean, and, consequently, Turkish objectives became wider in spectrum.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Regional studies, Balkans)

**KEYWORDS:** Aegean Dispute, U.S. Policy, Security, NATO

**THE UNITED NATIONS SMALL ARMS POLICY, THE SECOND AMENDMENT, AND THE  
FUTURE OF U.S. MILITARY OPERATIONS**

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The title of this thesis suggests that there are diametrically opposed philosophies on the subject of small arms in the hands of civilians. Those concerned about the issue are divided between those who support civilian small arms possession as stated in the Second Amendment of the U.S. Bill of Rights, and those who wish to control any civilian small arms possession.

This thesis will investigate some of the original arguments by America's Founding Fathers as they sought to determine the appropriate wording, if wording was even required in a Bill of Rights guaranteeing its citizens the right to keep and carry small arms. It will also investigate the meaning of "Militia," and "Well regulated Militia" as they are used in the Second Amendment, and will study the effect of an influential media in shaping public opinion toward small arms, and include modern studies on the use of small arms by citizens.

This thesis will then investigate the origins and practices of the UN small arms policy, of which, will be argued are found in a U.S. Department of State document. Culminating its study, this thesis will compare the two philosophies to determine their effect on future military operations, as citizens bearing small arms is the condition increasingly encountered by our armed forces. Additionally, it will critically evaluate these encounters in other nations to its own constitutional principles.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Small Arms Proliferation)

**KEYWORDS:** United Nations, Small Arms, Second Amendment

**THE CHANGING APPLICATION OF NORMS TO FOREIGN POLICY IN U.S.-JAPAN  
RELATIONS: AN ALLIANCE BASED ON "SHARED VALUES AND INTERESTS"**

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On 17 April 1996 President Clinton and Prime Minister Hashimoto announced the *U.S.-Japan Joint Declaration on Security: Alliance for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. The Declaration stated that the U.S.-Japan relationship in the post-Cold War era is based on "shared values and interests." The values "shared" are listed in the Declaration: "the maintenance of freedom, the pursuit of democracy, and respect for human rights." These values, or norms, have different meanings in the United States and Japan. The varied interpretations of these norms are investigated to determine their actual contribution to the U.S.-Japan relationship.

A theoretical framework based on the concept of the national interest is employed to measure the relative contribution that norms made to foreign policies of the United States and Japan in four major turning points for the relationship in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. While interests were the dominant factor in policy development, norms demonstrated an impact that varied in each of the turning points and showed cyclical characteristics over the broader period examined. The four applications of norms to policy observed are characterized as moral idealism, moral prudence, moral uncertainty, and moral skepticism. Foreign policy options for the United States and Japan are analyzed using these four categories.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Alliance Relations)

**KEYWORDS:** United States, Japan, U.S.-Japan Relations, Norms, Change, Ideals, Interests, Cycles, National Interest, Foreign Policy

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## NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

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### NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS

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Much of the discussion surrounding the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) presupposes that modern weapons will be able to locate and strike targets over great distances with a degree of precision that eliminates the need to retain nuclear warheads. The widespread notion that U.S. conventional weapons can replace nuclear weapons for all operational and deterrence purposes is ill-founded. Nuclear weapons will continue to play an indispensable role in U.S. national security policy. Indeed, the primacy of nuclear weapons may actually increase, in spite of the RMA, in three important ways: as a hedge against shortcomings in conventional weaponry; as a means to deter or counter advanced conventional weaponry; and as political-military instruments that, due to more advanced designs, may become more usable. Today, the U.S. armed forces have a commanding advantage in military capability, at least in some circumstances; but it is far from clear that this advantage will be sustained over the long term. Choices influenced by assumptions about the RMA will determine how U.S. forces are armed and prepared to fight for years to come. These choices should take into account the continuing significance of nuclear weapons in international security affairs.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Nuclear Weapons)

**KEYWORDS:** Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA), Nuclear Weapons, Technology, Precision Weaponry, Security, Asymmetry, Deterrence, International Security

### WILL DEMOCRACY BRING PEACE ACROSS THE TAIWAN STRAIT?

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The Taiwan question is the most important issue in US-PRC relations. A decision by the PRC to resolve the issue militarily would jeopardize major US interests in the East Asian region. Drawing largely on democratic peace theory, which asserts that democracies do not go to war with one another, some assessments of the Taiwan question argue that peaceful resolution of the reunification issue must rest on the transformation of the PRC's authoritarian political system into a democracy. This belief also has been an implicit premise of the US approach to engagement with the PRC. The US policy of engagement focuses on democratic peace as a panacea for the Taiwan question, assuming that a democratic China will not forcibly reunite Taiwan with the mainland. This thesis questions that assumption and argues that there are solid grounds for suspecting that were the PRC to become a democracy, the Taiwan issue may not be any more amenable to peaceful resolution. Resolution, in fact, may be even more difficult to achieve between two Chinese democracies.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security)

**KEYWORDS:** China, Taiwan, Foreign Relations, Taiwan Strait, US-China Policy, Engagement

**BRITISH POLICIES REGARDING THE EUROPEAN UNION'S EMERGING  
DEFENSE DIMENSION**

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This thesis provides an analysis of the evolution and prospects of post-1945 British policies regarding multinational European security institutions, particularly the European Union (EU), the Western European Union (WEU), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Specifically, this thesis analyzes the factors behind the Blair government's 1998 proposal to strengthen the European pillar of NATO and endow the EU with a defense dimension. This policy offers certain advantages for Britain's foreign and domestic policy agendas. Most of the other member nations of the European Union have responded favorably to the British policy shift since it has given a new impetus to the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). This thesis examines the Blair government's initiatives in European defense, and assesses the ramifications of the December 1998 St. Malo Declaration by Britain and France. In addition, it addresses how building the European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) may strengthen both NATO and the European Union and assist in making the EU's CFSP a reality.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (NATO)

**KEYWORDS:** Britain, NATO, European Union, Western European Union, European Security and Defense Identity

**ENGAGING NORTH KOREA: PROSPECTS FOR U.S. COUNTERPROLIFERATION POLICY**

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The United States almost went to war with North Korea in 1994 to halt its nuclear weapons program. U.S. counterproliferation policy at the time used the methods of coercive diplomacy and engagement in an attempt to respond to the crisis. This thesis uses the case study method to investigate the motives driving the North to acquire a nuclear program. The United States use of coercive diplomacy and engagement in shaping the outcome of the crisis are examined. The effectiveness of the agreed framework and the long-term U.S. counterproliferation effort in North Korea also will be assessed. The findings are that the North Korean nuclear program exists to ensure the survival of the regime. Coercive diplomacy was a flawed approach in dealing with the North because it failed to eliminate North Korea's nuclear motives. The agreed framework failed due to the lack of U.S. implementation. Only an engagement policy aimed at eliminating the North's nuclear motives can reduce the DPRK's dependency on its nuclear program. This thesis calls for a "revised framework," in which the United States must demonstrate its renewed commitment to engaging North Korea and eliminating the critical economic, military, and political dilemmas facing the nation.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (North Korean Nuclear Weapons Program)

**KEYWORDS:** North Korea, Republic of South Korea, Counterproliferation, Coercive Diplomacy, Engagement, Regime Survival, Precedent, Agreed Framework, Implementation

**THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN EUROPE: DESIGNING A NEW FORCE STRUCTURE  
FOR A NEW ERA**

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The current structure of the United States Army in Europe (USAREUR) reflects the drawdown of the force after the end of the Cold War. It consists almost exclusively of heavy forces that are difficult to deploy and sustain, but provide excellent tactical mobility and firepower. The vast changes in the international security environment and the increasing advances in information technology since the early 1990s have invalidated many of the planning factors and assumptions that were used to construct the current force in 1990-1992. This thesis argues that USAREUR needs to be restructured with a mixture of heavy, medium, and light combat forces. This structure would allow USAREUR to accomplish any limited mission across the entire conflict spectrum in its area of responsibility, either with NATO allies or unilaterally, without reinforcement from forces stationed in the United States.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International Security)

**KEYWORDS:** U.S. Army in Europe (USAREUR), U.S. Army, U.S. European Command, NATO, Revolution in Military Affairs, International Security Environment, Force Planning, Military Bureaucracy

**DEVIRIMCI SOL: A STUDY OF TURKEY'S REVOLUTIONARY LEFT AND ITS IMPACT  
ON UNITED STATES INTERESTS, 1968-1999**

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Using the evolution of *Devrimci Sol*, this thesis analyses leftist terrorism against U.S. interests in Turkey between 1968 and 1999. During this period, leftists committed 81 percent of the terrorism-related murders of U.S. citizens. In the 1970s, leftists began targeting U.S. interests, including military personnel. By 1980, the left had killed ten Americans. Although severely crippled following Turkey's 1980 coup, *Devrimci Sol*—the most prominent group—re-emerged in 1990 and dramatically increased attacks against U.S. interests during the Gulf War, perpetrating 75 percent of all terrorist-related U.S. deaths in 1991. Although devastating Turkish security operations and an internal group schism following the Gulf War drastically reduced the organization's violent activities, the late 1990s witnessed *Devrimci Sol's* renewed interest in targeting the U.S.

The thesis explains leftist development and violence against U.S. interests, suggesting Turkey's rapid modernization and the resulting instability provided fertile ground for the extreme left's emergence. By the 1970s, following periods of increased political liberalization, the rise of Marxist-Leninist ideology coupled with government intolerance to opposition groups elevated terrorism to the sole perceived avenue of change. External support, political amnesties, and reports of government oppression in Turkey support *Devrimci Sol's* continued survival. It remains a threat.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (International Relations)

**KEYWORDS:** Çayan, *Dev Genç*, *Dev Sol*, *Dev Yol*, *Devrimci Sol*, DHKC, DHKP-C, Karata, Leftist, Marxist-Leninist, MLAPU, MLSPB, Revolutionary Left, Terrorism, THKO, THKP-C, TPLA, TPLF, Turkey, Urbanization, Yaman

**JAPAN'S COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL SECURITY AND THE EUROPEAN UNION'S  
COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY: CONVERGENCE TOWARDS  
GLOBAL COOPERATION?**

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Since the end of the Cold War, the world poses a new, multipolar, political environment. Japan, a major economic power, embarked on multilateralism in the 1970s, when the unquestioned and unlimited United States' support for Japan's one-sided economic foreign policy diminished. This process revealed cultural and traditional shortcomings in Japan's foreign policy conduct. The concept of Comprehensive National Security, created in 1980 was utilized to overcome these shortcomings, but did not succeed substantially.

The European Community created European Political Cooperation (EPC) to match economic and political influence. An immobile bureaucracy and the tendency of EU member states to retain certain sovereignty rights rendered EPC relatively unsuccessful. The European Union (EU) sought to overcome these problems with the new Common Foreign and Security policy (CFSP). However, changes in decision making were marginal and consequentially did not improve CFSP in comparison to EPC.

EU-Japan economics as well as political cooperation suffered from incompatibilities between the EU and Japan in the conduct of policy making.

Only major reform attempts by both, leading to a higher degree of compatibility and the limitation on moderate goals offer the chance of successful cooperation. Global cooperation seems only achievable in the long term.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (National Security Affairs)

**KEYWORDS:** Comprehensive National Security, CFSP, EU, Japan, WEU, Economic Cooperation, Political Cooperation

**HASHEMITE SURVIVAL STRATEGY: THE ANATOMY OF PEACE, SECURITY AND  
ALLIANCE MAKING IN JORDAN**

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Peace, security and alliance making have all been important focuses of international relations and Middle East studies. The primary goal of this study is to address the general question about the likelihood and durability of peace with special reference to the pattern of inter-state behavior. In particular, this thesis examines the relationship between the "change in threat perceptions in regards to regime survival" and the "change in foreign policy" in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. More specifically, it gives special attention to the factors that determined the regime's alignment choice within the peace process.

Because of the rare nature of cooperation and the accepted normality of conflict in the Middle East, it is intuitively believed that peace, perhaps as its own reward, reinforces security by reducing the degree of threats to state survival. Jordan's peace case challenges this conventional wisdom. After the peace, Jordan simply eliminated the Israeli threat, realigned solidly with the U.S., and "balanced" the regional threats to its survival. Paradoxically, however, peace did not "omnibalance" the internal threats. In conclusion, the Hashemite survival strategy did not bring security to the regime because of both the existing domestic political predicaments and the reality of socioeconomic problems in Jordan.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Middle East Politics and Security)

**KEYWORDS:** Alliance Making and Peace Process in Jordan, External/Internal Threats and Hashemite Regime Security, Survival, King Hussein

**PALESTINIAN POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND ISRAEL, 1948-1993**

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This thesis examines political violence by Palestinian groups against Israel and endeavors to determine if this political violence was a necessary component of Israel's decision to agree to the Oslo accords and subsequent peace process initiative. Through the analysis of four separate time periods in Palestinian history (1948 to The Six Day War, The Six Day War to the *Intifada*, the *Intifada* to the Oslo Accords, and post-Oslo Accords) it was shown that three separate forms of political violence were used (guerrilla warfare, terrorism, and civil unrest). It is argued that the political violence brought by Palestinian groups was a hydra. When one form of political violence was ended another formed. Though Israel was experiencing great external pressure to come to an understanding with the Palestinians it would not have been enough to force Israel to make a deal. Even today US as well as EU pressure are not enough to compel Israel to complete the land for security deal without the appropriate security guarantees being offered by the Palestinian Authority. Being a democracy, Israel required strong internal support for peace to bring about the peace process. This internal support was created by a demand for personal security and is seen in the creation of new political parties and movements. This security could only come about by ending random violent acts by Palestinian groups, and this could only be achieved by negotiating a peace with the Palestinians. In short, this thesis demonstrates through argument and evidence that Israel is engaged in a land for security peace deal with the Palestinians primarily because the Palestinians had engaged in political violence.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Counter-terrorism)

**KEYWORDS:** Israel, Palestine, Palestinians, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Political Violence, Terrorism, Counter-terrorism

**THE VISIBLE HAND: THE GOVERNMENT-INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIP AND ITS  
EFFECTS ON TRANSATLANTIC ARMS COOPERATION**

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The economic realities of declining defense budgets and a smaller global arms market have, in recent years, forced governments to look beyond their own national borders when purchasing new armaments. This new global approach by governments in both the United States and Western Europe has resulted in an unprecedented consolidation of defense industries on both sides of the Atlantic. The key to understanding these events and what the future will hold is found in an examination of the government-industrial relationship, national corporate governance systems, the direction of the consolidation process in Western Europe, obstacles to future consolidation, and the prospects for transatlantic cooperation.

An analysis of corporate profit data from British, French, and German defense companies was completed to study the effects of government involvement in industry and ownership concentration. While no direct connection between corporate performance and these issues is possible, both government involvement and ownership concentration are shown to play a significant role in determining the national composition of mergers and investments. Cross-border mergers of defense firms are currently obstructed, however, by a state focus on employment issues, foreign investment restrictions, industrial security regulations, and arms export controls. An understanding of these issues and the will to enact reforms is necessary for the future of transatlantic cooperation.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Defense Industry)



**KEYWORDS:** Defense Industry, Globalization, Consolidation, Privatization, Corporate Governance, Transatlantic Cooperation

### **IMPLICATIONS OF GERMANY'S DECLINING DEFENSE SPENDING**

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With its reunification on October 1990, Germany regained its full sovereignty and stands now in a position of greater global responsibility. Faced with dramatically increased demands on and expectations for Germany's armed forces, it must answer the question of how much it is willing to invest for safety and stability in Europe and for protection of peace in the world. In determining the level of commitment behind Germany's foreign and security policy, defense spending is an important indicator.

This thesis demonstrates that Germany's defense expenditure seems to be inconsistent with its foreign and security policy objectives, and its professed willingness to bear new responsibilities. While substantiating this judgment with facts about Germany's declining defense spending, it examines the reasons for and effects of Germany's shrinking defense budget and suggests solutions to cope with challenges and problems arising from this phenomenon. The thesis recommends a further downsizing of the Bundeswehr, improving military cooperation, and the establishing of convergence criteria for defense within the framework of a European Defense Budget. Finally, the thesis forecasts that if Germany does not reverse the trend of declining defense spending it will probably decrease its political significance in Europe and in the world.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (German Defense Issues)

**KEYWORDS:** Germany, Defense Spending, Defense Budget, Military Expenditures, Peace Dividend, Burden-Sharing, European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI), NATO's Defense Capabilities Initiative (DCI), Convergence Criteria for Defense

### **RESPONDING TO SADDAM: U.S. POLICY TOWARD IRAQ SINCE THE GULF WAR**

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This thesis is an analysis of U.S. policy toward Iraq since the Gulf War. UN Security Council Resolution 687 was the formal cease-fire agreement ending the Gulf War, required the elimination of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction and created the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM). Attempts to gain Iraqi compliance with Resolution 687 consumed U.S. Iraq policy for nine years. In 1999, UNSCOM was disestablished without fulfilling its mandate. The Security Council then adopted Resolution 1284 in an attempt to introduce a new inspection regime into Iraq. This thesis examines the factors required to successfully compel Iraqi compliance with Resolution 687 and now Resolution 1284. The findings of this research conclude that current U.S. policy toward Iraq does not contain elements needed to successfully compel Iraqi compliance. The thesis then offers three policy options to deal with Iraq. The advantages and disadvantages of each are discussed. The thesis concludes that although current policy does not support the re-entry of a viable inspection regime, current policy does support the overall U.S. objective of containing Iraq. It is argued that current policy should be maintained in the near-term while the United States fully develops regime change as a long-term strategy.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (United States Foreign Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** Iraq, United Nations, Security Council, Sanctions, Weapons of Mass Destruction, UNSCOM, UNMOVIC

### **THE REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA AND NATO - PARTNERSHIP AND INTEGRATION**

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The transformations of the political relations in Europe at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century resulted in deep changes in the concepts of security and redefining the existing systems for collective defense in Europe. NATO becoming the security and defense framework of Europe had to deeply reconsider its *raison d'être* and to enlarge.

In this connection the Republic of Bulgaria deeply reconsidered its political and strategic position in this new environment, started profound reforms in its security institutions and continues to consolidate the democratic statecraft. This thesis analyzes the process of NATO enlargement and advocates the possibilities of membership for Bulgaria at the next 2002 NATO Summit. Bulgaria needs a quick entrance, not only for its strategic geopolitical position in Southeastern Europe, but for its efforts to participate in the building of united Europe and to support the Alliance as a reliable partner, committed to contribute and to preserve the peace and stability in the region and Europe and to promote the democratic values. The membership will strengthen the process of European integration and create a better climate for economic growth and prosperity in Europe.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Foreign Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** Bulgaria, Security, NATO, Enlargement, Strategic Threat, Civil-Military Relations, Civilian Control, President, Ministry of Defense, Foreign Policy, Military Reform, U.S., Russia, Kosovo

### **BAPTISM BY FIRE: HUNGARY'S PARTICIPATION IN NATO'S KOSOVO CAMPAIGN**

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Hungary's unique situation in the Kosovo crisis of 1998/9 stemmed from the country's geographic and strategic position as the only NATO member adjacent to Yugoslavia; further important was the sensitivity regarding Belgrade's behavior toward the national minorities in Yugoslavia in view of the 350,000 ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina; finally, also vital was Hungary's briefest tenure in the Alliance before the onset of a severe crisis. The dilemma of Hungary at the end of the century approximates that, in a way, of Germany in the Cold War. That is national division (of a kind) as well as being situated on the front-line of a conflict. Central and Eastern Europe has been the land of repressed national and ethnical conflicts for almost two centuries. These unresolved conflicts have meant constant threat to European security since the collapse of the communist bloc and still can endanger it. The primary objectives of Hungarian foreign policy after 1989 had been gaining membership in the EU and NATO and maintaining good relations with the bordering countries. The sheer irony of Hungary's participation in the Kosovo conflict is that having achieved one of its main objectives - joining NATO – it became a participant in the war against one of its neighbors.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Strategy and Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** Hungary, Security and Defense Policy, Hungary, Domestic Politics, NATO, Strategy and Policy, European Security Policy, Nationalism and Ethnic Conflicts in Europe, Kosovo, Vojvodina, Yugoslavia

**BULGARIA AND NATO's MILITARY INTERVENTION IN YUGOSLAVIA**

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**Advisor: Robert E. Looney, Department of National Security Affairs**

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This thesis examines Bulgarian political and economic issues regarding NATO's military intervention in Yugoslavia in 1999. It studies: Bulgarian policy regarding Kosovo crisis; the domestic political attitudes and discussions over NATO's military intervention and over government's foreign policy on this issue; the impact of the war in Yugoslavia and post-war order on Bulgarian economy and Bulgarian domestic and foreign politics. The thesis attempts to evaluate some cost-effective assessments about short and long term consequences for Bulgaria.

In spite of the initial highly negative and catastrophic expectations of the Bulgarian public, the country gained significant political dividends. Bulgarian prospects for EU and NATO membership now seem to be much more realistic than ever in the past.

At the same time, NATO intervention and the postwar settlements have not solved the ethnic, political, military and economic problems on the Balkans, but complicated them and posed serious new risks for Bulgaria and for the Balkans in general. The war also brought certain negative ecologic effects. The intervention in Yugoslavia and its support by the Bulgarian government complicated Bulgarian-Russian relations, which most probably will have long-term negative effect on Bulgarian economy.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (NATO, Bulgaria and Balkan Stability)

**KEYWORDS:** Bulgaria, Kosovo, Yugoslavia, Balkans, NATO, IMF, Military Intervention, War, Impact, Consequences, Balkan Stability Pact

**HUGO CHÁVEZ FRÍAS' PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: THE INSTITUTIONAL, ECONOMIC,  
AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF A POLITICAL PHENOMENON**

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This thesis analyzes the rise of a political outsider in Venezuela, a country previously dominated by candidates from a strong and consolidated democratic party system. This thesis examines three dimensions institutional, economic, and cultural to find interrelated elements that explain the Hugo Chávez Frías' presidential victory in 1998. The findings suggest that the Venezuelan political culture constantly fosters military participation in politics. For many years, this impulse was contained by an institutionalized party system. However, poor economic performance by political leaders led to the decreasing governability and political instability in the 1990s, and the decay of the institutionalized party system, which created the opportunity for Hugo Chávez Frías to win the 1998 presidential election.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Western Hemisphere Politics)

**KEYWORDS:** Party System, Political Parties, Venezuelan Civil-Military Relations, Civil-Military Relations, Coup d'état Attempts, Civilian Control Over the Military, Military Professionalism, Culture, Institutionalism, Economy

**THE EVOLUTION OF NATO: THE ALLIANCE'S STRATEGIC CONCEPT AND ITS  
PREDECESSORS, 1945-2000**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2000**

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A review of European and transatlantic history since World War II suggests that the Cold War largely determined the foreign and security policies of Euro-Atlantic nations and of such international organizations as NATO. In the late 1980s, dramatic changes in Europe put an end to the Cold War deadlock and caused the transformation of NATO.

NATO's origins reside in the era of 1919-1948. Formed in 1948/49 as a collective defense institution, NATO's purposes, procedures and capabilities were adjusted to deter the Warsaw Pact threat. Since 1990 the organization appears to be the sole one still capable of dealing with current and future risks and threats of the transition processes. The thesis analyses NATO's path from confrontation to cooperation in view of NATO's evolution, beginning with NATO from its Cold War strategies, through the revolutionary changes due to the Alliance's New Strategic Concept (Rome, 1991), and ending in the present with the outcome of the Alliance's Strategic Concept (Washington, 1999). The thesis assesses NATO's potential for further improvements and NATO's future role as an organization shaping the security environment in the Euro-Atlantic area.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (NATO)

**KEYWORDS:** NATO, North Atlantic Treaty, Strategy, Doctrine, Strategic Concept, Primacy of Political Authority, Deterrence, Détente, Art.5, Massive Retaliation, Flexible Response, Harmel, Cold War, Security Environment, Washington Summit, DCI, ESDI, WMD, PfP

**U.S. NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE AND ITS EFFECT ON U.S.-RUSSIAN ARMS CONTROL**

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This thesis provides an analysis of the proposed and potential security functions of a United States National Missile Defense system and determines what implications the construction of such a system would have on current and future U.S.-Russian arms control agreements. This research is critical for understanding the evolution, both domestically and internationally, of ballistic missile defense systems and their link to nuclear strategy and arms control. This thesis will also explore the policy debates and political trends in both the United States and Russia concerning U.S. NMD, in an attempt to better explain each country's position.

Compromise between the two countries on arms control issues involving both offensive and defensive systems is only possible if post-Cold War realities are accepted. The current arms control regime that governs both offensive and defensive systems is based on a political and military reality that no longer exists. If the two former adversaries still desire to participate in bilateral arms control, the basis of that arms control needs to represent current realities, and change its focus from limitation and restriction to inspection and confidence building.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Arms Control, Nuclear Weapons)

**KEYWORDS:** U.S.-Russian Relations, National Missile Defense, NMD, BMD, START, ABM Treaty, Arms Control

**U.S. STRATEGIC APPROACHES TO UKRAINE**

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This thesis examines U.S. strategic approaches to Ukraine in three major periods: World War I; World War II; and the Cold War; and since Ukraine's independence in 1991. Several key factors and tendencies related to U.S.-Ukrainian-Russian relations are reviewed throughout these three periods. The main emphasis is on post-1991 American strategic approaches to Ukraine. The thesis attempts to define possible future U.S. approaches regarding Ukraine and possible challenges in the bilateral relationship. It concludes that the strategic partnership that the United States and Ukraine reached in the 1990s, after almost a century of American indifference toward Kyiv, is in decline because American strategic approaches toward Ukraine lack a properly balanced economic dimension. Moreover, changes in Russia's leadership, the U.S.-Russian arms control agenda, and U.S. foreign aid trends as well as negative internal political and economic factors in Ukraine are combining to lower Kyiv's place among the priorities of U.S. strategic policy. However, new business and economic initiatives, analogous to NATO's Partnership for Peace, could provide solutions.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (United States, Ukraine, Strategy, Russia, Foreign Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** United States Ukraine, Foreign Policy, Russia, Strategy, Nuclear Disarmament, World War I, World War II, Cold War, American-Ukrainian Diaspora, NATO

**DISMANTLING RUSSIA'S NORTHERN FLEET NUCLEAR SUBMARINES:**

**ENVIRONMENTAL AND PROLIFERATION RISKS**

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This thesis examines the 1986 Chernobyl accident and its consequences as the basis for an analysis of the possible dimensions of the nuclear catastrophes that could occur during the dismantlement process of Russia's Northern Fleet nuclear submarines. It assesses the potential demographic, ecological, and economic consequences of a nuclear accident. Given the systemic problems at Russian nuclear facilities, the risks of a catastrophic event in the poorly maintained and operated submarine yards housing over 100 operating nuclear reactors are significant. A major nuclear accident at these facilities could cause damage to the environment of global proportions. This thesis considers the potential environmental impact of a nuclear accident during the nuclear submarine dismantlement process and discusses the environmental damage that has already occurred as a result of Soviet and Russian practices. This thesis also evaluates the risk of diversion of nuclear materials to proliferators or terrorists. Lastly, this thesis examines how the United States, the European Union, and perhaps others could assist Russia in reducing the environmental and proliferation risks in this dismantlement process.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Nuclear Submarine Dismantlement )

**KEYWORDS:** Dismantlement, Nuclear Submarines, Russia, Environment

### **FRANCE, GERMANY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENSE IDENTITY**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2000**

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**Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs**

The concept of a European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) within NATO is as old as the proposal made in 1950 by French Prime Minister René Pleven to form a European Defense Community (EDC) that would integrate French and German military forces into a common European army. However, the differences between French and German strategic culture have hampered efforts to establish an ESDI. One of the most critical dilemmas stems from the clash between (a) the German belief that United States engagement is essential to European stability and should not be undermined and (b) the long-standing goal of French leaders to develop a Europe that is more independent of American influence. Another key dilemma has involved French efforts to reconcile the Gaullist legacy of preserving national autonomy with an ever-increasing commitment to European integration and France's growing role in the integrated defense and security architecture of Europe. As long as French leaders continue to be influenced by de Gaulle's approach to foreign and national security policy, many obstacles to furthering the development and strengthening the capabilities of an ESDI will persist.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (European Security and Defense Studies)

**KEYWORDS:** Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI), European Union (EU), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Western European Union (WEU)

### **SWITZERLAND AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO EUROPEAN AND GLOBAL SECURITY INSTITUTIONS**

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**Second Reader: Bert Patenaude, Department of National Security Affairs**

Switzerland was a member of the League of Nations, but has never joined the United Nations (UN). Switzerland nonetheless works closely with the UN, and the Swiss are active in the OSCE. The Swiss never tried to join NATO, but there is a growing engagement in Partnership for Peace (PfP). Switzerland is an island surrounded by the European Union (EU), and still resists membership. The Swiss Government wants to join the UN and the EU, but the Swiss public, in 1986 and in 1992, said "no" to such entries, because it wants to remain neutral and to keep its political rights.

The thesis examines the proposition that the new policy of "Security through Cooperation," as written in several governmental reports, is compatible with Swiss neutrality. Therefore, the thesis examines Swiss history, the country's system, and its relationship to the UN, the OSCE, NATO, and the EU. In every step, where the Swiss Government followed the Swiss history of the Good Offices, the Swiss public said "yes," in all other steps "no." The thesis shows the reasons for this development.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Swiss Policy)

**KEYWORDS:** United Nations (UN), Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), North Atlantic Treaty (NATO), Partnership for Peace (PfP), European Union (EU), Swiss History, Swiss Neutrality, Swiss Democracy, Neutrality, Democracy

**WOMEN AND THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT:  
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-2000**

**Advisor: Glenn E. Robinson, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Fredrick Rocker, Department of National Security Affairs**

The Palestinian women's movement in the Occupied Territories has emerged as an undeniable force on the domestic political scene over the past thirty years. During the Intifada, women seized the opportunity to demonstrate their significance as participants in the struggle for national independence through socio-political organizations that had been developing since the 1970s. Today, these organizations provide a platform from which women address issues beyond those concerned solely with Palestinian statehood, challenging existing societal norms regarding the rights of women.

Beyond the argument that women comprise roughly half of the world's population, there lies a need for comparative studies of women's movements as a viable political force. The politicization of the gender issue in many developing countries is a great cause for concern. The ability of women as a social group to generate support and potentially impact the political infrastructure has gained attention as a vehicle to induce regime change. When women are given the opportunity to pursue university education, a generation of well-educated, professional women amasses over time. These women have the ability to generate the strength to sustain a feminist movement in parallel to, yet independent of, a national movement, as evidenced in the Palestinian case.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Area Studies, Middle East)

**KEYWORDS:** Middle East, Women, Palestinians

**POTENTIAL RUSSIAN NUCLEAR CONTINGENCIES IN THE CAUCASUS:  
IMPLICATIONS FOR NATO**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2000**

**Advisor: David S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Mikhail Tsypkin, Department of National Security Affairs**

There are three potential Russian nuclear contingencies in the Caucasus that merit analysis: a conflict internal to the Russian Federation; a conflict involving Armenia, Azerbaijan, and/or Georgia; and a conflict involving Turkey. The Caucasus is the region in which it is most plausible that Russia might resort to nuclear weapons in extreme circumstances. This region has been in turmoil since the collapse of the Soviet Union; and the prospects for continued conflict are great, given ethnic tensions and competing strategic ambitions regarding the region's energy resources. Russia faces a gap between its geopolitical ambitions and its conventional military capabilities. Its conventional military forces are in disarray and efforts at reform have been unsuccessful. Many in the Russian military establishment, having been trained under the Soviet nuclear doctrine that upheld the efficacy of limited nuclear weapons employment, now see the limited use of nuclear weapons as a genuine option in regional wars. NATO must deal squarely with this potential problem by formulating options for conflict prevention and, if necessary, for response.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Nuclear Weapons Issues)

**KEYWORDS:** NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), Russian Nuclear Weapons, NATO-Russia Relations, Caucasus, Russian Military Affairs, Nuclear War

**CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN THE LATE SUHARTO ERA**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2000**

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**Second Reader: Lyman Miller, Department of National Security Affairs**

The Indonesian armed forces played an important role in building the nation and in making Indonesia independent. ABRI, Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia or Indonesian Armed Forces was born as an army of national liberation, and it played an important role in politics from the beginning. After the failure of an attempted coup by the Indonesia Communist Party (PKI) on 30 September 1965, Suharto, as a commander, brought the military fully into the political arena. ABRI became embedded in the government, which meant that ABRI itself became the government. Some military officers began to have doubts about supporting Suharto without setting limits. As a result, Suharto took strong action and marginalized the military from its social political role. ABRI as an institution lost its authority, and it became a tool for the regime instead of a pioneer in the development of the nation. Under Suharto we can conclude that during 1965-1985 period, the Indonesian government could be classified as a “military regime.” Then, after Suharto gradually began to push the military further from direct control over the government, the military lost whatever autonomy it might have exercised before. This is important because the type of authoritarian regime influences the chances for success of new democracy. Given that the military had been pushed out of many aspects of government policy-making, Indonesia’s new democracy should experience less civil-military conflict.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Civil Military Relations)

**KEYWORDS:** Civil Military Relations

**U.S. AND TURKISH INTERESTS CONCERNING OIL POLITICS IN THE CASPIAN SEA BASIN**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 2000**

**Advisor: Ralph H. Magnus, Department of National Security Affairs**

**Second Reader: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs**

This thesis treats four major themes of vital importance to contemporary politics and strategy in the Caspian Sea region. In the first instance, it explores the growing geo-strategic role of the littoral states. Secondly, it treats the Caspian littoral as an issue of the strategic partnership between Turkey and the United States with due attention to the interaction of domestic and external politics as is plainly visible in all considerations of the Caspian littoral. In the third instance, this thesis analyzes the sources of political instability in the Caspian Sea Basin seen through the lenses of Turkish and U.S. policies. And finally, the thesis evaluates the effects of new developments on regional and global political concerns.

This thesis demonstrates that Turkey and the United States have similar interests in the region. But these allies’ policies in the last decade could neither conclude the construction of a main oil pipeline from Azerbaijan nor solve the inherent problems of the littoral states. Furthermore, domestic and other international issues hinder the implementation of their policies. Considering these new developments, Turkish and U.S. policy makers must adopt a new outlook. Being stakeholders in these events requires them to revise their policies.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA:** Other (Caspian Sea Oil Pipelines)

**KEYWORDS:** Energy Security, Oil Pipelines, Caspian Sea Region, Baku-Ceyhan, Trans-Caspian Pipelines, Foreign Policy, Regional Stability, National Interests, United States, Turkey, Russia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Iran, Oil Investors